Another thing that was most apparent last night was that the Democrats of New York understand and appreciate the meaning of the Force bill. Each mention of it, and it was named frequently, caused a storm of hisses, and when the speakers called on the Democrats to rally in the defence of the liberties that policy seeks to violate there were yells and wild demonstrations of approval.

One incident of the great meeting in the hall was Gov. Flower's mention of the loss and the grief of the President. What the Governor said, as may be seen below, was appropriate and kindly expressed. The Democrats who listened showed how much their sympathies had gone cut to the President by a moment of stience, and then by applause that was general without bring found.

Cheers greeted Senator Rossch when he arose and nominated Gov. Roswell P. Flower for presiding officer and John B. McGoldrick for secretary. Gov. Flower, in accepting the chair, spoke as follows: GOV. PLOWER'S SPEECH.

for secretary. Gov. Flower, in accepting the chair, spoke as follows:

Gov. FLOWER'S SPEECH.

Fellow Demochars of New York: I thank you heartily for your kind welcome and for the privilege of presiding at a meeting of representative Democrats in this historic building. The Tammany tiker has a great reputation for secolty among his political fees, but I have found him a very hospitable and generous creature in his own political fees, but I have found him a very hospitable and generous creature in his own political household.

We are gathered here to night to discuss political issues, political acts and political measures, not men. Though engaged in the advocacy of principles to which the Republican party and President Harrison are opposed, and not hesitating to criticise and censure our political adversaries when in our judgment criticism and censure are deserved, there is not a man on this platform or in this audience who does not share with the President of the United States the heavy load of domestic affliction which he is certring to-night. In the heat of partisan discussion here and throughout the remainder of the campaign, may he know that there is not a political opponent anywhere in this broad land whose heart does not beat in sympathy with him in his great loss! And from the hundreds assembled here let there go forth a silent prayer that God will sustain and comfort him in this hour of his bereavement.

We are assembled here to-night as Democrats and cliticens, united in a common cause—a desire for the best government—the most American Government—and for that reason we are here to advocate party principles and party candidates. If party success were merely a matter of personal victories or of political spoils, our appeals would fall on deaf errs, and the failure of our efforts would be no public misfortune. We are working for Democratic victory because we believe that Democratic victory because we believe that Democratic victory because we believe that Democratic victory hecause we believe that Democrat

Our National Convention has spoken and Democrate everywhere are in line under the leadership of the party's standard bearers. In this campaign we Democrate of New York feel more than usually Democrate. The action of the Chicago Convention has put us on our mettle. It has practically bidden us to prove our Democracy, and we are going to do it! Though the Democracy of the Empire State, through its regularly constituted delegation, declared in favor of another candidate than him whom a majority of the party wanted, it has loyally submitted to the wisdom of that majority, and throughout the entire country no party machinery is doing greater work for Democratic success in this compaign than the Democratic organization of the State of New York. And before this audience, and in this hall, I need not add what every one of you knows to be true, that no local political organization anywhere is doing more for the Democratic cause than the Tammany organization is doing in this municipal stronghold of Democracy. Your excellent local ticket, headed by Thomas F. Gilroy, a man whose honorable record in the public service demonstrates his capacity and ability for the Mayoralty, will strengthen the national ticket and encourage the Democracy of the country.

The issues of this campaign are simple and

The issues of this campaign are simple and The issues of this campaign are simple and well defined. They are chiefly the issues made by the Fifty-first Congress. They are a second time on trial before the country. In 1830 they were rejected by a popular majority of nearly a million. I am unable to see why they won't be rejected by an even larger majority again in November. I don't believe the people of the United States are any more in love with the McKinley bill, the Force bill, the Subsidy bill, the Sherman Silver bill, on the billion dollar bills against the Treasury, than they were two years ago when they rose in their might and placed a two-thirds Democratic majority in the House of Representatives to watch the Treasury and the Constitution. Another era of such reckless Republican statesmanship would have brought the country to the verge of ruin. Who wants to run the risk again?

WHY BUSINESS MEN SHOULD BE DEMOCRATS.
In this city of New York, where so much of

country to the verge of ruin. Who wants to run the risk again?

WHY BUSINESS MEN SHOULD BE DEMOCRATS. In this city of New York, where so much of the business of the country is carried on, the question presented in this election ought to result in an unprecedented majority for Grover Cleveland. It is a blunt question of comparisons. We have had four years of Democratic administration under Mr. Cleveland, and we have had nearly four years of Republican administration under Mr. Harrison. As a plain business proposition, which administration deserves the larger share of public confidence? A presiding officer is not expected to do much talking, and I shall not attempt to answer this question elaborately upon this occasion, but I would like to present to you brieff, and especially to the business men in this audience, some cogen reasons why Mr. Cleveland's Administration deserves endorsement rather than Mr. Harrison's.

Let us take in the first place the question of finances. That is a very important question of finances in the first place the question of finances. That is a very important question of finances in the first place the question of finances. That is a very important question. When you touch pretty closely to their convictions, In business we have no confidence in an agent who squanders our income and is afterward detected in covering up his tracks by changing the method of bookkaoping. That is exactly what a Republican Administration and a Republican Congress have done. During Mr. Cleveland's Administration the interest-bearing public debt was reduced by \$338,000,000.

Mr. Cleveland's Administration the interest-bearing public debt was reduced by \$38,000,000.

Mr. Cleveland's Administration the interest-bearing public debt was reduced by \$38,000,000.

Mr. Cleveland's Administration the interest bearing public debt was reduced by \$38,000,000.

Mr. Cleveland's Adminis

its public dent. What kind of steward that kind of that? Are the people to reward that kind of financiering?

At this time four years ago the Cleveland Administration, after three years and a half of service, had paid off \$392,000,000 of the interest-hearing public debt, and had a surplus of over \$74,000,000 in the treasury. To day, the Harrison Administration, during the same period of service, has paid off only \$259,000,000,000 in the treasury. To day, the period of service, has paid off only \$259,000,000,000 of the public debt, and, on the same basis of bookkeeping as was employed until Mr. Foster became Secretary of the Treasury, had an actual deliciency of \$44,000,000. Here is a credit of \$163,890,000 to Mr. Cleveland's Administration. That in itself is a sufficient reason for his re-clevit n.

What has occome of this money? Squandered by extravagant appropriations—hppropriations holargest in the history of the country except in times of war; over a billion dollars appropriated in one Congress and new burdens of expenditure imposed on all succeeding Congresses—a tax of \$16 on every nam, woman, and child in the United States; that is what the last Republican Congress has cost the country.

BEPUBLICAN BOOKEEPING.

To conceal these great misuses of the public money, the Republican party, through its representatives in office, has changed the method of bookleeping at the Treasury. In order to turn a delicit into an apparent surplus, they have invaded a trust rund. For years there had been set aside in the Treasury a fund for the redemption of national bank notes. It consisted of moneys deposited by national banks for the retirement of their circulating notes. The Government was bound to use it for that purpose, and through Mr. Cleveland's Administration, and part way through Mr. Harrison's Administration, it was trented as a latelity and a reserve fund. It amounted to about \$25,000,000 now. But it has recently been transferred from the liability to the assets side of the Treasury statements, and is one of the large sums which are used to cover an actual deliciency. If the same system of bookkeeping with which Mr. Harrison's Administration began were still used there would be revealed an actual deliciency of over \$4d. COLLOCA.

This looting of the Treasury has necessi-REPUBLICAN BOOKEEPPING.

ministration began were still used there would be revealed an actual deficiency of over \$40,OMOGE.

This looting of the Treasury has necessitated the imposition of high taxes in the name of protection to American industries. Out Weat they build their stone walls four feet high and six feet thick, so that when a cyclone strikes them and they blow over they are higher than ever. That is the principle on which the Republican ; arry has revised the tariff. In nearly every schedule of the Mckinsey bill the tariff is higher than it was before. The Democratic party sets its face against this kind of tariff revision. It wants a tariff that will protect the great majority of the American people—not a few favored manufacturers. It wants a tariff which doesn't tax exorbitantly the necessaries of life while admitting the luxuries free. It wants a tariff which will not desiror some American industries for the sake of building up others. It wants a tariff which high the tariff which protects American labor, not one that taxes it to poverty. It wants a tariff that will encourage the opening of new markets for our surplus agricultural prod-

uets, not one that limits our markets and invites retailstory legislation by other nations against our farm products. Scrimp and save as much as ho will, about the only thing an American farmer can clear nowadars is a sixrail fence with the Sheriff after him. McKin-ley protection does some good, of course; it temporarily stimulates certain industries and encourages new ones; but the trouble with that kind of protection, seconding to the Democratic view, is that it lies not only unjust to the great body of consumers, but it gives an artificial and unhealthy stimulus to such in-fustries as it is designed to protect. It is like feeding well men with strong tonics. The immediate effect is stimulating, but nobedy recommends it for steady diet. A healthy man is likely to get sick by two great indulgence in tonics, and that is the way with American industries and that is the way with American industries but the after effect is likely to be disastrous. The Democratic party wants to see American industries built on so solid a foundation that they do not need legislative props every few years to keep them in existence. That is the sort of protective tariff we advocate, and that is the sort of protective tariff we advocate, and that is the sort of protective tariff Mr. Cleveland stands for.

is the sort of protective tariff Mr. Cleveland stands for.

Four years of Democratic administration and Democratic legislation left no outrageous measures to defend or no scandals to cover up. The affairs of the Government were managed in a clean, honest, businesslike, and intelligent way. The tone of the public service was greatly improved. The crowd of depublican monor-getters who had fattened for years on Government contracts under Republican administrations were driven out of Vashington. Civil service reform was fully established. A powerful navy was built up and coast defences were strengthened. Our foreign relations were conducted without ingoism, but firmly and with dignity. Over a hundred million acres of land were restored to the public domain. The Cleveland Administration was notably an administration of public affairs for the people—not for individuals. It nepealed to the people, because it was faithful to their interests, and it was sustained in 1888 by a plurality of the popular vota. It was this popular confidence which gave Mr. Cleveland a renomination, and two weeks from to-day will give him a reflection to the Presidency.

BALLY AGAINST THE FORCE BILL!

will give him a reelection to the Presidency.

BALLY AGAINST THE FORCE BILL!

There is one other issue in this campaign which I have yet only alluded to—a great issue covering all the other issues, an issue upon whose proper determination depends individual liberty and a republican form of government—an issue involving more momentous results to our country than any other issue before the people. It is the issue of the Force bill. I need not point out the dangers of its enactment in such an audience as this. Tammany Hall has been quick to discern them. But I hope that from this meeting there may go forth a note of warning all through the country, railying every good Democrat and every good citizen, whether he be Democrat or Republican, to vote against a party which has designed and is still designing such a revolution in our election methods as threatens the very integrity of our institutions, and linds no word of justification except that of political expediency. When the Hepublican party has reached that condition where to insure political supremacy it dares not trust the unintimidated, honest vote of the people, but seeks to perpotunte its power by deliberate, arbitrary subversion of constitutional government, it is time for floyal Americans everywhere to rise up and strike the sceptre of power from these unworthy hands.

hands.
At the conclusion of his speech the Governor called upon Secretary McGoldrick to read the list of Vice-Presidents. This was done, and then Mr. McGoldrick read the following resolutions, which were adopted with great cheer-

"The Democracy of the city and county of New York, in mass meeting assembled in Tammany Hall, reaffirms its belief in the principles laid down by the Democratic Convention at Chicago, and heartily endorses, ratifies, and commends the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President and of Adial E. Stevenson for Vice-President of the United States.

"We denounce the Republican Force bill as an assault upon representative institutions Conceived in a spirit of sectional hate, it the country into disturbance and confusion. the South, and bring disaster to every State. lis, whose commercial primacy depends upon the prosperity of every section of the country.

the prosperity of every section of the country.

"We cordially ratify the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President of the United States and of Adiat E. Stevenson for Vice-President of the United States, and approve the attitude taken by Mr. Cleveland in his letter of acceptance on the great question of tariff reform. We stand with him in a position of friendliness to all existing industries. With him we demand such a reform in the system of federal taxation as will increase the rate of wages paid to the tollers of this country, by increasing the demand for labor and opening the markets of the world to the products of American skill and American ingesuity.

"We approve and ratify the nominations made by the County Convention of this organization, namely:

"Thomas F. Gilrey for Mayor.

made by the County Convention of this organization, namely:

"Thomas F. Gilroy for Mayor,
"George B. McClellan for President Board of Aldermen,
"Henry D. Purroy for County Clerk,
"Leonard A. Giegerich for Justice of Court of Common Pleas.
"Fordinand Levy for Register,
"Hufus B. Cowing for City Judge,
"Frank T. Fitzgerald for additional Surrogate,

gate,
and pledge them our hearty support.

We point with satisfaction and confidence to the condition of this city to-day
as contrasted with its condition in 1888,
and we submit it to the people of this country
as a striking proof of the fruits of the
Democratic administration that we have the and we submit it to the people of this country as a striking proof of the fruits of the Democratic administration that we have the Democratic and in the citizens since the war: the pavements are in the best condition which the people have ever in the best condition which the people have ever thown; the streets are cleaner than they have ever been before; the water supply has been increased threefold, and to-day exceeds the water front has been improved and is in a process of development which will give our merchants the full enjoyment of our magnificent water front; the threatened invasion of cholera has been arrested and defeated at the gates of our harbor; the death rate has been arrested and defeated at the lower than in any other city of equal size in the world, owing to the efficiency of our Fire Dopartment, while during the late Columbian celebration an unarmed civic force maintained absolute order and preserved involate the security of life, limb, and property in the presence of a throng amounting to two millions of human beings crowded in our thoroughfares.

"On this record we invite the judgment of the electors. We piedge to the people for the future the same intelligent and economical administration of public affairs which they have enjoyed for the last four years. As we have redeemed the promises which we have made in the past, we nak them to believe in our purpose to serve their interests faithfully in the future.

"To our party brethren throughout the country we pledge such decisive majority in this city for the Democratic candidates as will secure the electoral vote of this State for Cleveland and Stevenson, for the promotion of peace and good will among the sections, and for the commercial emmencipation of the industrial masses of this country from the restrictive and onerous burdens imposed upon them by Republican class legisl

"Ladies and gentlemen. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you the Hon. David Bennett Hill."

A Tammany tiger went up from 4.000 throats that shook the windows. Senator Hill had been sitting at the right of Gov. Flower. Ho arose, and the audience then settled down to husiness, which for the time, that is, the next few minutes, was applause.

"Three cheers for Senator Hill," cried a man in the balcony, whose voice was heavy enough to make his suggestion heard above the steady yelling. The gallery gave the first round, and then the men on the floor swung in and the last cheer was given with a swing. Then every one 'egan cheering in a go-assyou-please fashion. The ladies in the boxes on either side of the hall arose and waved their handkerchiels. Down on the floor every man was standing and waving a hat or a handkerchiel.

"What's the matter with Hill?" called a dozen men at one side of the house.

"He's all right," was the reply.

"Who's all right?"

"David Bennett Hill, "was the response.

Then there was more steady yelling. It was an ovation to Senator Hill on his first appearance in Tammany Hall as a speaker. It was enthusiastic and it was earnest. Senator Hill stood beside the speaker's table and waited. There was a twinkle in his eyes and a suggestion of a smile around the corners of his mouth.

When he saw the ladies in the boxes fluttering handkerchiefs and doing damage to their gloves the suggestion broadened and there was a smile. Gov. Flower and Gen. Daniel Sickles were also smilling, but they raised their hands to still the applause. The band helped them out, and finally Senator Hill was alle to make himself heard.

Sepekch of senator Hill.

This occasion is the first time I have had

SPEECH OF SENATOR HILL.

This occasion is the first time I have had the honor of addressing the Democracy of New York in this ancient and honored temple of Democracy. My voice has been heard frequently among you in past political contests, but always until now in edifices cretted to art. science, music, or amusement; and it pecutiarly affords me pleasure this evening to speak in a structure especially dedicated to the promulgation of the true principles of constitutional government, and before an organization which dates its existence from the earliest history of our country. I speak, however, with diffidence, because these walls have so often resounded with the musical voices and eloquent words of your own famous organical contents. SPEECH OF SENATOR HILL.

tors of world-wide reputation that anything which I can hope to utter, even in so good a cause as ours, must seem uninteresting and unattractive when compared with their magnificent efforts, which you have so frequently

which I can hope to uiter, even in so good cause as ours, must seem uninteresting and unattractive when compared with their magnificent efforts, which you have so frequently enjoyed.

It is in this far-famed and historic Wigwam, where, upon every anniversary of our nation's independence, you assemble to listen to the words of wisdom and patriotism which have fallen from the lips of many of the great statesmen of the land who have graced the occasion by their presence and thrilled the country with their patriotic sentiments, and your praiseworthy and unique action has given rise to the prediction that the celebration of American independence will never crass to be observed within our horders so long as this temple of liberty shall endure or the Tammany Society shall survive.

I feel as though I am among friends to night; friends, many of them personal as well as political, the friends of good government, the friends of civil liberty, the friends of equal rights, of equal taxation, of liberal laws; in a word, the friends of true, unadulterated and aggressive bemoeracy.

Lam of unmindful of the fact that, during my entire service as Chief Executive of the State, my official relations with the Democrats of Tammany Hall were of the most pleasant character, and I cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge the fact that they were among my stanchest supporters during all that period from the memorable campaign of 1885, through the great centres of 1882, in the Senatorial election of 1892, and to the last occasion, when the temocracy of the Empire State honored mo with their confidence at Albany and Chicago.

Neither have you forgotten that after a period of many local defents there can be not had been fall and an agenent of Tammany Hall, factions have practically disappeared, and there is now but one Democratic organization in the city of New York recognized by the Democracy of the Empire State and nation. It is also an interesting circumstance to note that your local successes have been coincident with the repeated in the

NECESSITY OF PARTY ORGANIZATION.

These observations naturally lead to the suggestion of the necessity of party organization and of the duty of every good citizen identifying himself with one or the other of the great parties of the country. Political contests are like the battles of nations—they must be fought with organized forces; there must be recognized leaders; there must be councils of war; there must be a "rank and file" to carry out policies and execute orders, and there must be loyal equiescence in and a faithful support of whatever plan of campaign has been finally decided upon. Sentiment alone does not always win political struggles. An undisciplined mob may largely outnumber regular soldiers, but it cannot long content against their superior skill and concerted action.

Facular unrisings only occur occasionally. NECESSITY OF PARTY ORGANIZATION.

tion.

Popular uprisings only occur occasionally, and their benedicial effects can only be utilized by intelligent direction. "Firing in the air" has lost many battles as well as political campaigns. should also be remembered that a strong It should also be remembered that a strong political organization cannot be built up in a day; it is the laborleus work of years. Neither can an organization, no matter how excellent it may be regarded, safely be derided, assailed, weakened, and defeated three years out of four with any reasonable expectatation that it can triumph in the fourth year. Cur public men and the press do not always realize this fact as keenly as they should, but its truth is gradually becoming more appreciated.

realize this fact as keenly as they should, but its truth is gradually becoming more appreciated.

To-day the great reliance of intelligent political observers for the success of our national candidates in this State is upon the immense majority which is expected to be relled up in this city under the auspless of the magnificent organization of Tammany Hall, which in rocent years has known no such word as defeat, and to which all eyes are now turned, and upon which our hores are centred. To-day that organization is stronger and capable of more effective work for our national cause because of its admirable administration of the city Government, and its local victories in 1830, and again in 1831, over the unholy coallition of Reputilicans and Democratic malcontents. It is clear that the way to win national elections is first to win local and State elections. In politics, as in everything else, "nothing succeeds like success."

These who, because of personal disappointments or because candidates of their particular choice have not been nominated, would encourage the temporary defeat of their party, usually live to regret their action and to realize how difficult it is for that party to regain the ground that has been unwisely and foolishly lost.

I believe in a healthy, strong, and vigorous

hly lost. I believe in a healthy, strong, and vigorous I believe in a healthy, strong, and vigorous tartisanship. This does not mean the manifestation of a narrow, hide-bound, or selfish spirit. I respect an honorable opponent, who honestly differs with me upon the public questions of the hour. I deprecate the custom, already too prevalent among our public men, of personal abuse and intentional misrepresentation of the bosition of adversaries. In a country like ours there must always be two great; arties, and our differences should be treated with decent and respectful consideration. Neither have I anything but contempt for the optentations zend of the new convert

omous vituperation. My views of the direction which party effort should take may be briefly stated.

I would endeavor by every honorable means to build up the Democratic party and make it invincible in the city. State, and nation. Sincerely believing that its principles are the best calculated to subserve the highest and tracest interests of the country. I would seek to extend its influence, broaden its membership, and strengthen its power for usefulness. I would make the Democratic party strong, not by catering to the whims of the few who temporarily ally themselves with us on infrequent occasions, but by satisfying the great, faithful masses who make up the bulk of the party, and who stand by their colors in season and out of season, in adversity as well as in prosperity, in shadow as well as in sunshine, in defeat as well as in sunshine.

I would not advise the foolish course of so shaping our policy as to catch one vote on Fifth avenue and lose ten on the Bowery. I would build up not a present near. in defeat as well as in victory.

I would not advise the foolish course of so shaping our policy as tocatch one vote on Fifth avenue and lose ten on the Bowery. I would build up not a personal party, but the Democratic party. I would seek victory not for a day, but for a accade. I would make it possible to elect all meritorious Democratic candidates who represent Democratic ideas. If would enleavor to make our accessions permanent rather than temporary. Nominations should be made in accordance with the established usages of the party and in deference to the wishes of the great mass of its loyal followers who expect to support the ticket at the polts. Frithful and efficient party service should be encouraged and rewarded rather than frowned upon.

These methods of party management and their observance by Tammany Hall appropriately led to the hemination four years ago for Mayor of Hugh J. Grant and to his renomination and triumphant recelection two years later, notwithstanding a malicious and concerted attack upon bin, accompanied by a powerful condition; and they have alike demanded the nomination of Thomas F. Gilroy at the present time, and will insure him a glorious victory; they have given you constantly increasing majorities; they have made New York city the very Gibraltar of the Democracy of the country.

PROTECTION VS. TARETY BEFORM.

Democracy of the country.

PROTECTION VS. TARIFF REFORM.

The issue between the two parties upon the tariff question was never more sharply defined than in the present campaign. No one ought to be decrived as to the attitude which they respectively assume. Both believe in a tariff sufficient to raise the principal revenues necessary for the support of the Government. The Democratic party there stops and declares that no other or larger lariff should be imposed than may be required for such purpose, while the Republican party goes further and insists that it is the right and duty of the Government to impose such higher duties as may be deemed necessary to prevent competition with domestic industries even to the extent, if desired, of absolute prohibition of importations. The two parties radically of importations. The two parties radically differ as to the true and proper functions of the Government. One declares that the power of taxation should only te exercised for public purposes, namely, to meet the expenses of the fovernment; while the other asserts that it is a legitimate and desirable exercise of that power to build up and encourage home manufactures even at the expense of the whole people, by imposing duties sufficiently high to prevent foreign competition.

Our appropriate call the method or means by which they use the power of taxation for private purposes the system of protection. We meet them at the threshold of the discussion of this question, and declare that their system of protection violates the spirit, if not the lefter, of the Federal Constitution.

No AUTHORITY FOR FROTECTION TO BE FOUND IN THE CONSTITUTION.

The fact that there is nowhere to be found in the Constitution any express provision giving Demogracy of the country.
PROTECTION VS. TABIFF REPORM.

The fact that there is nowhere to be found in the Constitution any express provision giving Congress power to protect private industries by taxation at the expense of the whole people cannot be lightly dismissed. In my opinion, its omission is a matter of the greatest significance. The Hon. George Ticknor Curtis. A Great Fall in Furniture at Pilni's,

who has seen fit in this campaign to differ with his party and myself upon this question, and for whom personally I have great respect, not only as a citizen, but as an able constitutional lawyer, declares in a recently published letter that, while the power of foatering private industries at public expense is not expressly conferred in the Constitution, yet that it is an incidental or implied power inherent in the general power to raise revenues by taxation. It is difficult to see how his construction can be maintained.

incidental or implied power inherent in the general power to raise revenues by taxation. It is difficult to see how his construction can be maintained.

The two powers are entirely different. One does not necessarily—depend upon the other. Their purposes are unlike. If he had said that in the exercise of the power of taxation profection was necessarily incident to it, as a result, whether intended or not, the statement would have been correct. If he had claimed that Congress, under the power to regulate foreign commerce, has the power to prohibit any or all importations, and, in that manner, protect private industries, there would have been force to his argument, aithough it would have been begging the question in dispute. The power to impose fariff duties for the avowed purposes of revenue is quite another. Both powers may be abused, but that does not affect the constitutional question involved, because it does not change or enlarge the true objects of their creation. The two powers are distinct, and cannot or should not be confused, conglomerated, or perverted.

Mr. Curtis stands on the "taxing" clause of the Constitution, and under that clause taxes can only be imposed for public purposes, to wit, to meet the expenses of the Government.

The taxing power is plain and explicit. The Constitution declares that:

"Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

Story, in his treatise on the Constitution (Sec. 1918), says that the clause is to read as if the words "in order" were inneared after "excises," so that the express power to impose taxes is limited to the specific purposes mentioned, and does not include the fostering of any private industries at the expense of the whole people.

Story further says: "Congress has not an unlimited power of taxation in the distance of the continued provided for the common defence and provided for the constitution that the expense of the continu

any private industries at the expense of the whole people.

Story further says: "Congress has not an unlimited power of taxation, but it is limited to specific objects, the payment of the public debt and providing for the common defense and general weifare. A tax, therefore, laid by Congress for neither of these objects would be unconstitutional, as an excess of its legislative authority."

Moreover, permit me to state a fact that

Moreover, permit me to state a fact that seems to have been overlooked.

EARLY FEDERAL LEGISLATION.

In the Convention of 1787, which framed the Federal Constitution, a proposition was made to confer upon Congress the power to protect manufacturers by commercial regulations, and it was rejected. This is important evidence, from which it may be fairly urged that it was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that Congress should be vested with the power to aid private industries at the expense of the people. Our Republican friends will ignore the proceedings of this convention which I have cited. Their public speakers and their press will not permit their followers to know such an important fact. They do take great pains, however, to inform us and the public that the first Congress of the United States in July, 1789, passed a tariff bill which contained a preamble reciting that it was necessary at that time that duties be imposed on important of the Government, but for the encouragement and protection of manufactures.

We have never denied the fact, and they are at liberty to make the most of that legislation to sustain their views. But we insist that this early action of Congress neither establishes the propriety of imposing high tariff duties at this stage of our history, nor does it militate against our position that there is now no constitutional authority to levy taxes except for public purposes.

For the gratification of our Republican friends, permit me to inform them that, in EARLY FEDERAL LEGISLATION.

stitutional authority to levy taxes except for public purposes.

For the gratification of our Republican friends, permit me to inform them that, in addition to the act to which they have so joyously called our attention, there was another one passed the next year containing a similar preamble. These two acts, however, are the only ones of that character ever passed by Congress.

Our answer to these precedents which may be cited against our position is very simple and conclusive:

The Government had just been formed, was hadly in debt, and greatly in need of revenue, There were scarcely any manufactures. The country wanted money and required manufactures, and these bills were passed unquestionably to secure both objects, just as stated in their presents. country wanted money and required manufactures, and these bills were passed unquestionably to secure both objects, just as stated
in their proambles. Federalism was rampant
at that functure. The new nation was in a
critical condition, and it was deemed wise
to avoid differences where they could
be harmonized. Ponnsylvania then, as
now, selfishly caring only for her own
supposed interests, made the demand
for the protection preamble, and the other
states yielded the point. The Constitution
had just been adopted, its provisions were new
and had not been interpreted. Exactive what
powers had been conferred upon Congress was
not well understood, and there was much distrust of, as well as dissatisfaction with, its
provisions, and considerable opposition was
manifested to the new Government. There
was a disposition to accept without question
any measures which afforded temporary relief
and avoided dangerous contention.

There had been so many compromises of
opinion and interest that it was at first difficult to say exactly what kind of a Government
had been formed, or what was its just powers.
Gouvernour Morris, who had been a member
of the Convention of 1787, when asked his
opinion of the Constitution answered. "That
depends on how it is construed.

Under the circumstances which then existed, the passage of the two measures in question
does not carry much weight upon the constitutional question involved. The situation was
just this: Certain express powers had been
delegated to Congress, but the power to tax
the people for the Lenefit of private industries
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delegated to Congress, but the power to hay the people for the tenefit of private industries was not one of them. Whether such a power existed, in the absence of an express grant, was a debatable question, but Congress proceeded to exercise it under the peculiar circumstances which I have mentioned; but what did the same Congress do? It proposed an amendment to the Constitution, which declared that: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." (Art. 10). That amendment was subsequently ratified by the requisite namber of States, and became a part of the Constitution in 1791. Whatever question may have previously existed, as to the constitutionality of a protective tariff per se, there could be none after its adoption. No tariff bill containing a similar preamble to that attached to the two bills passed by the First Congress was ever enacted from that date to the present. It was the recitals contained in those bills, the dangerous tendency exhibited to assume doubtful powers of a paternal character, and the effort made to broaden and enlarge the functions of the general Government beyond what had been claimed for it in the Constitutional Convention that aroused a feeling of insecurity and led to the proposal and adoption of this most important and vital amendment, which, to some extent, changed, or at least detormined and settled, the nature of the Government. I'rot, Parsons, in speaking of his father, the eminent Chief Justice, allindes to "his favorite clause of the Constitution, that which reserves to the several states all powers not expressly delegated to Congress, a clause for which he may well have had the affection of paternity. Whether he valued this provision too highy time will show. I cannot but think, as I believe in thought, that it is to this principle our country, if it is to remain one country, must look for political salvation, or look for it in vain."

This extract shows how va

of the country.

LIMITATION OF FEDERAL AUTHORITY.

It should not be forgotten that there had been a formidable opposition to the adoption of the original Constitution, and that a majority of the States, in concurring, added to their ratification a series of amendments which they deemed requisite, nearly all of them intended to circumscribe the power granted to the Federal Government by explanations, restrictions, or prohibitions, and designed as safeguards against the dangers apprehended from the lowers granted in the original Constitution, which were regarded as too extensive or not safely defined, indicating a jeniousy of Federal powers and an anxiety to multiply securities against a constructive enlargement of them. The amendment in question was one of the most important of these, and all of the amendments taken together constitution.

The very preamble which preceded the proposed amendments indicates the sensitiveness which then existed. It is as follows: The Conventions of a number of the States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added, and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will be thus to the constitution of the states the tendent will be the surface of the states of the states the tendent of the states of the stat LIMITATION OF FEDERAL AUTHORITY.

of public confidence in the Government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution."

Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and George Cinton of New York were united in their patriotic efforts to secure these amendments limiting the powers of the general Government, and Virginia and New York are united to-day in the effort to prevent a misconstruction and abuse of them. It has been observed with much truth that Federalism triumphed in the adoption of the original Constitution, while Democracy triumphed in securing its amendments.

I leave to-hight at 12 o'clock to speak on Thursday to the Democracy of the State of Virginia, and I want to take to them the good world from the Democracy of the city of New York that New York will be determined and designed as "protective" measures—have since been passed at various periods of our history, but in none of them have their authors dared to insert any preamble, provision, or statement therein from which it might appear that protection was the sole object and direct pur-

pose of them. There has always been a studied effort by our opponents to avoid the precise question at Issue. They have indeed been very bold and outspoken in debate, upon the stump, and in party platforms in favor of protection for the sake of protection, but in framing their tariff bills they have been careful not to permit their avowed purpose to appear in the measures themselves, but have always hid themselves, behind the taxing power of Congress and allowed the bills upon their face to appear as designed solely for the purposes of needed revenue. There can be little doubt that a protection measure, pure and simple, could not stand the test of judicial review even with the Supreme Court of the United States as at present constituted. If our opponents doubt it, let them be candid with the people and frame a suitable measure to properly present the question, and not disguise their true purpose behind a measure which purports simply to raise the necessary revenues for the support of the Government.

I suggest to our opponents that their bill should declare upon its face something like this: "Whereas, no more revenue than is already provided for is now needed for the support of the Government, but it is desirable that certain private industries of the country should be encouraged and protected at public expense, therefore, under the taxing power vested in Congress, the following duties are hereby imposed for the purpose of affording the encouragement and protection desired. Such a recital would fairly raise the precise question at issue between the two parties, and its determination would place one or the other of them in the wrong.

Will our Republican friends accept my proposition:

As matters now stand, we realize that we are discussing an abstract question incapable

of them in the wrong.

Will our Republican friends accept my proposition?

As matters now stand, we realize that we are discussing an abstract question incapable at this time of proper presentation or judicial determination. It possibly has no practical value so long as our opponents shirk a fair presentation of it. But the Democratic party believes, and always has believed, that "Republican protection," as it is expounded by its advocates and exemplified in the details of its measures talthough artfully concealed from their face, to be in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution as it now stands—and it frankly avows its sentiments in its platform.

We have nothing to conceal, nothing to disguise, nothing to retract.

We do not believe that the true theory of our Government ever contemplated that it should be a paternal Government, having the power to build up one man's business at the expense of another. We believe that the Constitution especially since the amendments of 17191, designed that the rewer of taxation should only be exercised for the public purposes expressly specified therein, and for no other.

MADISON'S VIEWS.

be exercised for the public purposes expressly specified therein, and for no other.

MADISON'S VIEWS.

But it is said that Madison in the early history of the country was inclined to favor the boiley of protection, and conceded its constitutionality.

Whatever may have been his personal views in those early times as to the propriety of protection, they cannot carry much weight in favor of Republican protection of to-day. The situation has greatly changed. It was urged then as a temporary, not as a permanent, policy of the Government. Our manufactures were in their infancy and really needed encouragement. The tariff rates established were infinitesimal compared with those insisted upon to-day. There was no surplus, and all the duties imposed were actually needed for revenue.

The first tariff bill ever introduced in Congress was by Mr. Madison himself, and it was for revenue only, and contained no commercial regulations for protection.

Speaking of this law of 1783 a distinguished and able writer concisely states the circumstances of its introduction and passage as follows: "It came about in this wise: Early in April of the year 1782. Mr. Madison introduced into the House a tariff bill to intercept the spring importations. The new Government needed money immediately. None of the articles on which high specific duties were to be levied were then produced in the country, excepting rum. His whole measure was purely and solely for revenue. The hext day pitzsimmons of Pennsylvania presented a substitute, which blended revenue, outstined under the clause for regulating commerce with foreign nations?

The rates on more than fifty articles were so increased in the Fitzsimmons bill as to surround them with a protecting tariff. He united taxing clause for revenue only with commercial regulations to prodested that the two ought not to be too confusedly blended. After a discussion of extraordinary interest, ability, excitement, and importance, the bill presented by Mr. Madison for revenue only under the commercial clause, a

During the present campaign our opponents, in their recklessness, have even ventured to claim that "Old Hickory" himself. Gen. Andrew Jackson, once favored the policy of protection. If he ever did so, it must have been in the early stages of the country's history, when protection was only south as a temporary expedient. Certainly his later public utterances were all upon the other side. Hear what he said upon his retirement from public life in his farswell address to his countrymen: "The soundest maxims of public policy, said he, "and the principles upon which our republican institutions are founded, recommend a proper gaptation of the revenue to the expenditure, and they also require that the expenditure shall be limited to what, by an economical administration, shall be consistent with the simplicity of the Government and necessary to an efficient public service. A tariff of high duties, designed for perpetual protection, has entered into the minds of but lew of our statesmen. The most they have affice, nated is a temporary and generally incidental protection." Rely mpon it, said this great Democrat, with prophetic vision at the close of his career, "rely upon it, the design to collect an extravagant ravenue, and to burden you with taxes beyond the economical wants of the Government, is not yet abandoned. The various interests which have combined together to impose a heavy tariff and to produce an overflowing Treasury are too strong, and Murning, noon, and night the New York Central has



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have too much at stake to surrender the con-test. The corporations and wealthy individu-als who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will sup-port it to conciliate their favor and to obtain the means of protuse expenditure."

To oppose this conspiracy of sellish and par-tisan interests, no longer imagined, but a menacing reality, is the special mission of the Democratic party of to-day.

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION.

and all the duties imposed were actually needed for revenue. The first tariff bill ever introduced in Construction of the State of the

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